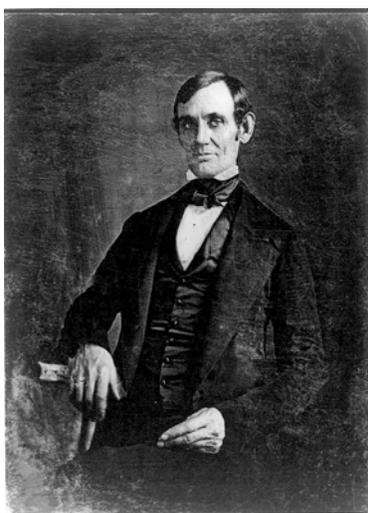


## Lincoln: The Man, the Politician, and Slavery: 1838–1858

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Abraham Lincoln, 1840s (left) and the Lincoln Memorial (right)

Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at <https://tinyurl.com/y9d8z9e8> and <https://tinyurl.com/ya5xpnfh>.

### Overview

This module was originally developed and utilized in an eighth-grade American history class in order that students might have more realistic perceptions of Abraham Lincoln as a human being and an aspiring leader, and to understand his views about slavery before the Civil War. The module can be easily adapted to high school American history courses.

Many, if not virtually all, middle and high school students have difficulty humanizing Lincoln because of a lack of knowledge about Lincoln's life before he became one of the nation's greatest presidents. Little or no understanding of Lincoln's early life and his thought and writing before becoming president often causes students to easily succumb to the erroneous notion that Lincoln was an abolitionist, or the even more inaccurate perception that Lincoln cared nothing for the plight of black slaves. This module is designed to assist students in the cultivation of a more accurate and nuanced view of Lincoln, and hopefully complements existing textbooks and other pedagogical tools readers might use in their classes (estimated time, two and a half to three hours).

### Objectives

Students will:

Differentiate between the somewhat dehumanized Lincoln of the Lincoln Memorial and Mount Rushmore and Lincoln the human being—a person with arguably the most humble origins of all

American presidents and the politician whose views evolved yet who consistently possessed antislavery beliefs.

Analyze primary source excerpts of Lincoln's speeches and letters from before the Civil War to think about Lincoln as an aspiring leader and to better understand his views about slavery and how they changed.

Think about Lincoln in the context of nineteenth-century rather than early twenty-first-century beliefs about African-Americans.

### **Prerequisite knowledge**

No prior knowledge of Lincoln himself is necessary. Basic understanding of the following terms and concepts will be helpful: abolition movement, Africa colonization plans for former slaves, Missouri Compromise, Compromise of 1850, Fugitive Slave Law, Kansas-Nebraska Act, and *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

### **Module introduction: Lincoln, stone and flesh**

Steps one through three are part of introductory activities and should move quickly relative to the remainder of the module.

Warmup, part one (estimated time, fifteen minutes)



Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at <https://tinyurl.com/ya5xpnfh>.

Show photo of Lincoln Memorial on-screen or provide printouts for each group. Have students answer the following questions either individually, in groups, or as a whole-group discussion:

What words or phrases come to mind when you see this image of Lincoln? What are the first thoughts for you personally when you hear someone mention Lincoln?

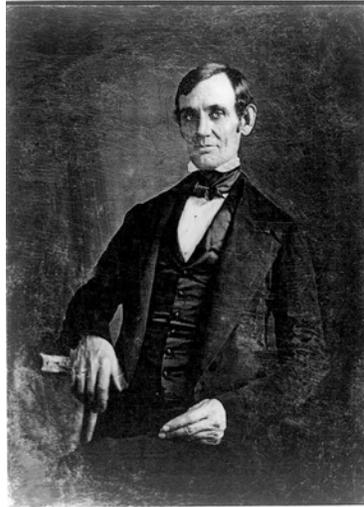
What sort of mood does the Lincoln Memorial convey?

What can we learn from visiting memorials for famous Americans?

What information might we lack by learning about famous Americans only through memorials and statues?

How might a memorial be a misleading representation of a historic figure? (During discussion portion, the teacher may want to talk about the debate that occurred over the Lincoln Memorial when it was conceptualized and constructed. See resources for more information.)

Warmup, part two (estimated time, five to eight minutes)



Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at <https://tinyurl.com/y7cq4y2b>.

Show the 1846 daguerreotype of a young Lincoln on-screen.

An earlier photo of Lincoln was chosen for this lesson intentionally, as most students are familiar with photos with from his presidency. Have students answer the following questions either individually, in groups, or as a whole-group discussion:

What words come to mind about Lincoln as an individual when you view this photograph? (Students should be informed that because photography had just been invented and being photographed was considered a significant experience, few people in the nineteenth century smiled in photographs. Also, holding a smile for the lengthy exposure time was difficult.)

What does this photo show about Lincoln's personality?

Why might a photo give us a better starting point of discussion about a person than a statue?

Lincoln's early life: Video and discussion (estimated time, ten minutes)



Source: Screen capture from "Lincoln: Growing up on the Frontier," on *YouTube* at <https://youtu.be/rXdZe1Q-dQo>.

Show the three-minute video from "Lincoln: Growing up on the Frontier" about Lincoln's early life.

After the video, have students write two or three sentences describing any surprising or unknown facts about Lincoln's early life they learned, and lead a brief class discussion based upon student responses.

Document analysis (estimated time, one and a half hours for both steps four and five)

Students will analyze excerpts from Lincoln's speeches that focus on his thoughts regarding the issue of slavery in the United States. Assign one of the following excerpts and accompanying questions for each student to read silently in groups of four to six, depending on the size of the class.

Note: All primary source material that follows is also available at this link (<https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crchendersonmlmaterials.pdf>).

### **Teacher contextual information for primary sources**

Many instructors will have the contextual knowledge to briefly introduce each primary source reading to students, but this might not be the case with all six readings, particularly with Lincoln's private correspondence. The annotations and sources below should be helpful as teacher background or, with high school students, possible in-depth or homework resources.

#### **The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838**

Context: On November 7, 1837, in Alton, Illinois, in what came to be a nationally publicized and polarizing event, a mob raided the warehouse where abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy stored his printing press, burned the building, and killed Lovejoy. Although the then-twenty-eight-year-old Lincoln did not mention Lovejoy by name, a major theme of Lincoln's earliest published speech was the evil of mob rule and the need for respect for the law. For the complete speech and other background information, visit <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/lyceum-address-january-27-1838/>.

#### **Letter to Mary Speed, September 27, 1841**

Context: In this letter to the half-sister of one of Lincoln's best friends, Joshua Speed, Lincoln recounted his observations of a recent steamboat trip he and Speed took together. Parts of the letter would have outraged abolitionists because they hinted at Lincoln's sympathy for slaves and their plight. Available at <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/letter-to-mary-speed-september-27-1841/>.

#### **Peoria Speech, October 16, 1854**

Context: Lincoln's response to congressional passage of the highly divisive 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act allowing territories to exercise popular sovereignty regarding the question of whether or not to allow slavery marked the first time Lincoln made the moral evils of slavery and its threat to the republic a personal central political theme. For the complete speech and background information, visit <http://ashbrook.org/library/document/speech-on-the-repeal-of-the-missouri-compromise/>. Teachers might also want to read political scientist's Kevin Portteus's succinct essay on the historical significance of the speech at <http://ashbrook.org/publications/onprin-feb2009-portteus/>.

### **Letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855**

Context: This letter to a close friend, who as a Kentucky slaveholder had a different viewpoint on slavery than Lincoln, is influenced by Lincoln's alarm concerning the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It also affords students the chance to read two different Lincoln accounts of the same steamboat journey and his reactions to the shackled slaves onboard. See the complete letter, which condemns not only slavery but also the anti-immigrant "Know-Nothing" Party, at <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speed.htm>.

### **Dred Scott Decision Speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857**

Context: The Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case ruling against Scott—a slave who contended that because his master had moved him from a slave state to a free state and then a free territory, he was legally free on the grounds that slaves had no right to sue since blacks were not citizens, further divided an already-polarized union. Lincoln's complete speech may be accessed at <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-the-dred-scott-decision/>.

### **First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas, Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858**

Context: U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas, a Democrat, architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and Lincoln's opponent for the Senate seat, engaged Lincoln in seven debates. (State legislatures elected U.S. senators until 1913, but the candidates held public debates to vie for support for the election from supportive legislators.) Much of the debates centered on issues such as slavery in the territories, the Dred Scott decision, and the morality of slavery. Although Douglas was reelected to the Senate, the debates propelled Lincoln and the antislavery Republican Party into the national spotlight. The transcript of the first debate with accompanying background information is available at <https://www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/debate1.htm>.

Author's note: The excerpts from Lincoln's letters are easier for students below eighth-grade reading levels if differentiation of reading skills is necessary.

## Lincoln Primary Sources and Accompanying Questions

### **The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838**

The question recurs, "how shall we fortify against it?" [killings and destruction of property created by mob violence]. The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and Laws, let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor;--let every man remember that to violate the law, is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the character of his own, and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap--let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in Primers, spelling books, and in Almanacs;--let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation....

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that arises, as for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true; that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens; or, it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case, is the interposition of mob law, either necessary, justifiable, or excusable...

Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence.--Let those materials be moulded into general intelligence, sound morality, and in particular, a reverence for the constitution and laws...

Describe Lincoln's views on the importance of law.

What are Lincoln's arguments against the use of mob law in dealing with "grievances" such as abolitionism?

Make a prediction on how Lincoln will develop future arguments as a speaker based on his words in this document.

### Letter to Mary Speed, September 27, 1841

You remember there was some uneasiness about Joshua's health when we left. That little indisposition of his turned out to be nothing serious; and it was pretty nearly forgotten when we reached Springfield. We got on board the Steam Boat Lebanon, in the locks of the Canal about 12 o'clock. M. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 P.M. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from, the others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One, whose offence for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually; and the others danced, sung, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best, to be nothing better than tolerable.

In this letter, Lincoln is recalling a boat trip to St. Louis, Missouri, with his close friend Joshua Speed in the same year. This letter is to Speed's half-sister. How does Lincoln describe the condition of the slaves he saw on the boat trip?

How would you describe Lincoln's feelings on slavery?

Simply from reading this letter, do you think Lincoln exhibits much emotion regarding slavery? Why or why not?

## Peoria Speech, October 16, 1854

Again, you have amongst you, a sneaking individual, of the class of native tyrants, known as the "SLAVE-DEALER." He watches your necessities, and crawls up to buy your slave, at a speculating price. If you cannot help it, you sell to him; but if you can help it, you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his; they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the "slave-dealer's children". If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet; but with the slave dealer you avoid the ceremony---instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact. If he grows rich and retires from business, you still remember him, and still keep up the ban of non-intercourse upon him and his family. Now why is this? You do not so treat the man who deals in corn, cattle or tobacco.

And now, why will you ask us to deny the humanity of the slave? and estimate him only as the equal of the hog? Why ask us to do what you will not do yourselves? ....

Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right," back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of "necessity." Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it; and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-adopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices, and policy, which harmonize with it. Let north and south--let all Americans---let all lovers of liberty everywhere---join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations.

Summarize the argument that Lincoln is making in the first paragraph regarding the feelings about slave dealers.

How does Lincoln draw attention in this argument to the fact that slaves are humans and deserve to be seen as such?

What does Lincoln claim are the proper steps to save the Union?

### **Letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855**

You know I dislike slavery; and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave -- especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you to yield that right; very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations, under the constitution, in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. It is hardly fair to you to assume, that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the constitution and the Union.

I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligation to the contrary.

This letter is about the same boat trip Lincoln describes in the letter to Mary Speed. How many years have passed between these two letters?

What descriptions does Lincoln make about the journey?

What insights about his feelings on slavery does Lincoln provide?

### **Dred Scott Decision Speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857**

Now I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, admits that the language of the Declaration is broad enough to include the whole human family, but he and Judge Douglas argue that the authors of that instrument did not intend to include negroes, by the fact that they did not at once, actually place them on an equality with the whites. Now this grave argument comes to just nothing at all, by the other fact, that they did not at once, or ever afterwards, actually place all white people on an equality with one or another. And this is the staple argument of both the Chief Justice and the Senator, for doing this obvious violence to the plain unmistakable language of the Declaration. I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in “certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” This they said, and this meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.

What does Lincoln say about the equality of black and white Americans?

In the context of this speech, what do you think Lincoln means about leaving black Americans “alone,” as in his example in the first paragraph?

Describe Lincoln’s beliefs about the intent of the Declaration of Independence.

## First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas, Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tiptop Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave-masters....

If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,-to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible....What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not....

I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Loud cheers.] I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects-certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.

What does Lincoln say about Northerners and Southerners in the first paragraph? Why do you think he is making this appeal?

What two possible outcomes for slaves does Lincoln speak of in the second paragraph?

What does Lincoln say about changing the "institution of slavery" in the third paragraph?

What argument does Lincoln make about the equality of "the white and the black races"?

## Document analysis continued

After silent reading, have student complete the following for each excerpt:

Highlight at least five key words from each excerpt from Lincoln. These key words will help students write their summary “I think” statements.

Instruct students to answer questions that follow each excerpt to facilitate their summary statements and later discussion.

In order to summarize the selection, students should write an “I think” statement on their interpretation of Lincoln’s views from the assigned selection. (Example: “I think Lincoln is saying in this letter that slavery was wrong because it goes against their humanity.”)

Teacher should allow each student to share their “I think” statements within their groups.

Discussion (estimated time, thirty minutes)

Teacher should lead a whole-class discussion using the best of the “I think” statements and/or responses to text-based questions.

Culminating writing task (estimated time, thirty to sixty minutes)

Allow students to choose one of the following questions to respond to in writing. At this point, students will need all six documents for use as evidence.

Are there similarities and differences between Lincoln’s letters and his public speeches in regards to what he writes about slavery? Explain with evidence.

In what ways do you think Lincoln’s public addresses are influenced by the fact that he was a lawyer and aspired to be a democratically elected leader? Explain with evidence.

Use evidence from the primary sources presented in class to show that Lincoln was not an abolitionist and to show that Lincoln was against slavery.

In the nineteenth century, whether white Americans were for or against slavery, the vast majority of whites in the U.S. and Europe considered blacks an inferior race. Based on primary source evidence, how might Lincoln’s views on race conform to and contradict the dominant views of the majority race?

Editor’s note: Because of the contemporary sensitivity regarding the above topic, careful teacher preparation for this question is important. Two approaches are suggested: students should be introduced to the notion that historical thinking involves cultivating empathy (not sympathy) for people who lived in another era who held beliefs that today are considered “racist” or “backward.” A discussion making this point might be followed by a specific examination of Civil War-era beliefs about blacks. See the following website for accurate information on this topic:

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Intros/questions.html>.

## Assessment

Teachers should feel free to use a rubric of their choice to assess the writing task, or they may use the one below from the University of North Carolina School of Education:

<https://tinyurl.com/yblpcdq3>.

## References and Resources

<https://youtu.be/rXdZe1Q-dQo>: This brief video clip on *YouTube* of Lincoln's early life from A&E network's *Biography* series is titled "Lincoln: Growing Up on the Frontier."

<https://vimeo.com/60458867>: This is a longer, ninety-minute biography of Lincoln from the History Channel, available on *Vimeo*.

<http://tinyurl.com/y86ncut3>: This daguerreotype of Congressman Abraham Lincoln was taken in 1846 by Nicholas H. Shepherd and is available on *Wikimedia Commons*.

<http://tinyurl.com/y74mhpc0>: This photograph of the Lincoln Memorial by Attilio Piccirilli for Daniel Chester French (1920) is available on *Wikimedia Commons*.

<http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/>: Lincoln's 1838 Lyceum Speech and his letter to Mary Speed, from *The House Divided Project: Lincoln's Writings, The Multi-Media Edition* by Dickinson College, are available at this URL.

<http://ashbrook.org/>: Lincoln's 1854 Peoria Speech, accompanying materials, and Lincoln's 1857 Dred Scott Speech are available at this URL from the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University.

<https://www.c-span.org/series/?LincolnDouglas>: This site has the "Lincoln-Douglas Debates" from *C-Span Classroom*, a series of reenactments in 1994 of the Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas Illinois senatorial debates in 1858.

<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/lincoln/essays/lincoln-and-abolitionism#fn2>: This site has an essay titled "Lincoln and Abolitionism" by Douglas L. Wilson from *The Gilder Lehrman Institute* and is included as a teacher background.

<https://vimeo.com/69675871>: Matthew Pinsker of Dickinson College's lecture "Understanding Lincoln: Lyceum Address (1838)" from *The Gilder Lehrman Institute* is available here.

<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speeches.htm>: Lincoln's 1855 Letter to Joshua Speed is available at the *Abraham Lincoln Online* website.

<http://www.nps.gov/>: The transcript of Lincoln's August 21, 1858, first debate with Stephen A. Douglas and accompanying materials are available at the *National Park Service* website.